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CHAPTER VIII

MARKETS

DIFFERENT aspects of this subject have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with material culture, social organization, and government.[1] Since indeed the primary purpose of the market is economic, it is the seat of operation of an interesting social class, and likewise often the local administrative center. Hence, little remains for description save the general scheme and coördination of the whole. 443

A market meets weekly on a fixed day and in a fixed place. There is usually but one to a *canton*, although this rule, like all others, has its exceptions. The days and locations of markets are so correlated that it is possible for a person living in almost any place to reach a market on foot and return home again on any day of the week except Friday, when markets are never held. The word for market in both *thamazighth* and Arabic is *suḳ*, and markets are given the names of the days on which they are held. Thus all markets meeting on Thursday are called *suḳ el khemis*, or simply *el khemis*. Markets meeting on the same day are distinguished by the addition of the names of the places in which they are held.

Thursday markets are more important than the others, as a general rule, because Friday is the Mohammedan sabbath and provisions for it must be obtained in advance.

Each market is administered by the council of the great of the *canton*. This body has a house, or among the nomads, a tent, in or on the outskirts of the market. (See plate 30.) On market days it generally meets in a room of this edifice. Most such houses have a second room which is used as a rest-room for people attending the market, or as a guard-house for retainers of the councillors. Cases which have accumulated during the week are brought before the council of the great at this time, since defendants in situations which concern the councillors often prefer to postpone their appeals or complaints until market day rather than request the moderator of the council of the great to have a special meeting called for a single case.

Any offenses committed in market are considered more serious than if committed elsewhere, and are more heavily fined; offenses which would otherwise concern the village council are brought to the attention of the council of the great if committed in market. [673]

The division of spoils among the members of a *canton* who have participated in a tribal war is often made in market. [727]

In the markets under the authority of the Ikhemrijen, firearms must be left outside before their owners may enter. In other markets rifles were usually carried before the European occupation. Serious fights sometimes arose in markets, in some cases so severe that the tribal council convened and decreed the market closed forever, lest the sight of the place where kinsmen had died might in future remind members of the different *bones* of their mutual grievances and incite them to further violence.

The chief purpose of every market is of course the buying and selling of goods. (See plates 30, 31, and 32.) The vendors of different articles are segregated according to their wares, the cloth merchants, the women selling pottery, and so forth. The butchers are rele-

[1] Chapters IV–VII.

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The butchers are rele-
gated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Iksuen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92

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In the market at Tiguisas, Ghomara

The jeweller's shop. Suk el Khemis, Targuist

A shop on the outskirts of the market, Suk et Tnine. Beni Amart

Brush shelter employed in Ghomaran markets. Tiguisas, Ghomara

[p. 110 (B)]

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MARKETS 3

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Butcher's section, Suk el Arbaa, Kasba Selwan, on the Mazuza-Kebdana border

Shlub butcher with goat's skin inflated before flaying. This method is also employed in the Rif

[504]

Women selling bread. Ajdir

One of the *ishegairen* (weighers) weighing grapes against a stone. Gaennaya

Selling salted sardines. Tiguisas, Ghomara

[p. 110 (c)]

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838
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[684]
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sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distanc loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

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175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

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red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith ʿAlī u ʿAisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj ʿAbd al-Karīm (a kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

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443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

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that held on Mondays at Azghar, and that it was the proposed establishment of this market which led to the seven years' war between Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī, the former being pro-market and the latter con. In any event, whatever their actual origin, the significant fact is that men are entirely excluded (although little boys of ten years or under may go with their mothers). The women buy and sell the usual eggs, chickens, bread and pottery, plus a certain amount of grains, fruits and vegetables, with occasional love charms and objects for warding off the *jnūn* and the evil eye thrown in. The markets are supervised by an *amīna* and are subject to the same market duty as the ordinary markets. In the old days two men, standing at a safe distance from the market, used to act as guards and prohibited other men from entering; this is no longer the case, however, for in recent times. Sánchez Pérez relates that a man from Buqqoya, interested in spotting a future wife for himself, went to the Saturday market at Aith Qamra dressed as a woman. He was soon discovered, however, then denounced to the *amīna* in no uncertain terms, and finally taken to the *qā'id* of Uṭa, who tossed him into jail (21). It is noteworthy that even in regular markets men and women do not talk or mix with each other, save in the transaction of business, but remain sharply and distinctly segregated.

Concerning the market as a commercial center, little remains to be said except that each market in the tribe specializes in certain kinds of products and falls into one of three definite categories: village, «fractional», and tribal. An example of the first is the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, specializing in charcoal, to which go only people from the surrounding villages. The second type is represented by the Monday market at Aith Ḥadīfa and the Thursday market at Imrābdhen; both specialize in grain, and to both come people from Aith 'Abdallāh as well as from the «fifths» in which the markets are located. The third type is represented by three markets: that on Saturday at Imzūren, specializing in fruits and vegetables, which caters as much to people from Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn as from Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī, Aith 'Alī and Imrābdhen; that on Mondays at Izakīren in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, specializing in animals, the most remunerative market in the tribe; and that on Wednesdays at Tu-

(21) Sánchez Pérez, 1943, p. 23.

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rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

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tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Riffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamza*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zuwāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», **The Sociological Review**, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

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an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

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canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy; and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Tyrirth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Izzinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out) on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya' (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab, Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential institution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law", where the clan councillors or ingharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28], have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'umen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done [241] by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[198] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

623 63 131 443 [646] [648] 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 562 [113] 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

[171] 443 562 114

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. [114] Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000 [103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. [823] [121] With certain notable exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000 was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after 628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which custosary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 S6--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] S7--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[024] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

671 agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present
628 date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the
613 Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi
728 Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there
[443] also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent
[686] sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebratedsaint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed
628 arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforemen-
613 tioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus
[805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

671 interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were
[443] made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 671 614 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 628 613 A) Qanun:

Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on 692 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the 681 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 682 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who- 683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

695 693 capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

682 695 (Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

805 443 782 (Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

805 000 On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

671 692 693 000 Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and 000 stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator A/1, [See p.306-- Analyst]

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

• 443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
[182] an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. ..nd hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoidsimpunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671 628 681 184 443 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the 681 619 443 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is 681 628 682 614 619 443 613 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and 443 [778] criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may 443 554 He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Azizi al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

000 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

671 554 693 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their real profession.

671 779 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, 671 683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 443 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the [619] [673] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
79 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
562 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
443 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
178 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women
183 special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
(681) mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

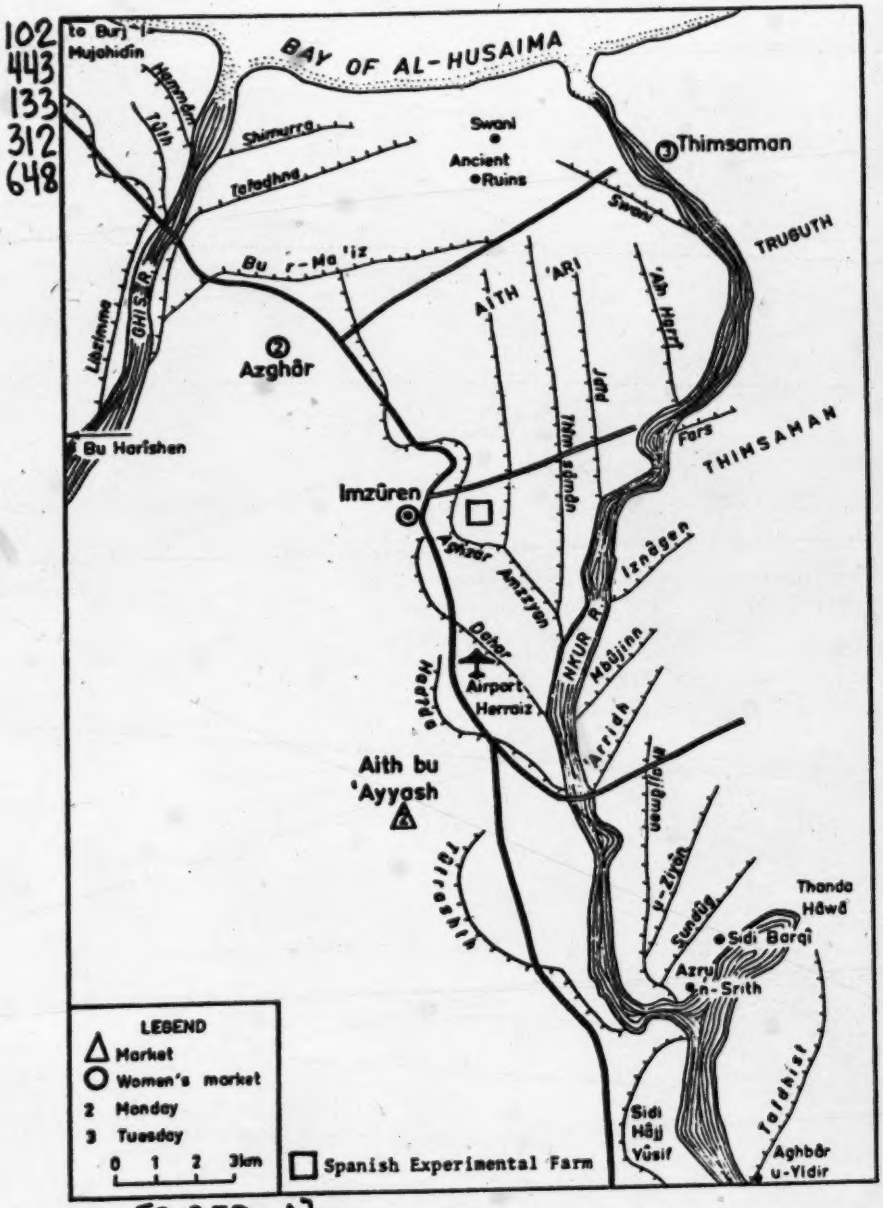
226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and
121 economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part
433 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
642 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] [369] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 785 472 443 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 785 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

793 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property
794 owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his
465 services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is
789 not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in
791 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif
754 society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his
[793] knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are
[799] embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female
754 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed
791 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches
562 although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are
[888] universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical tech-
791 niques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages
789 from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qual-
793 ities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services
[443] of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

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wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

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The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may

[955] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One

[955] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi-

[554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[955] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to

000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 6

THE MARKETPLACE

128 443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or suq, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif. [196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different suq every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local suq. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 pertinent features of the marketplace and its importance in the economy of the Rif.

443 182 571 The market in the Rif does not function simply to facilitate exchange but serves a whole series of social needs of the fellah. By looking at the noneconomic functions of the market we can better understand why a man will ride a mule or walk for two hours to market, yet make only a single purchase. We will understand why a seller would prefer to deal in a familiar market although other markets may have higher prevailing prices for his goods. The market has both an economic and a social function and it is difficult to say which has primacy over the other. As Montagne points out, "Le montagnard ne se rend pas au 'souq' uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencountrer ses amis, réglar des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour" (1930:249). And Bourrilly has noted the importance "non seulement économique mais encore politique, de ces souks ruraux. Ces rendez-vous périodiques, que des liens d'hospitalité, tels que la zettata [a promise of safe passage], rendent plus forts, aboutissent forcément à une fusion plus ou moins complète des groupes qui fréquentent les marchés voisins" (1932:216).

Only by observing the noneconomic significance can we avoid the type of thinking that led Albéniz to conclude that ". . . poco a poco van disminuyendo el número de zocos en el territorio, como consecuencia de la bondad de las vías de comunicación. Los zocos de escasa vida se ven absorbidos por los de auge más intenso, y

443 los indígenas, por sí mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>sugs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>sug</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] [366] [312] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected. For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid, based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

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The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

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[1]The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.[illegible] Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

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such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the *suq*. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic *kif*, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

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438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the *fellah* have to buy barley on

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
[556] to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
[735] the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
[265] of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
[785] and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
[796] market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565 but find their occupation more remunerative.
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In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
443 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special
445 goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occa-
(159) sionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather periph-eral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>sugs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
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province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

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Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

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443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.

443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply

442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

443 442 435 conditions and adjust his prices accordingly. The fellah, on the other hand, has no such information channel and merely attempts to get the best price he can with his limited supply of information. The fellah sells his eggs, or almonds, or oranges, to the big buyers almost as soon as he contacts one of them at the marketplace. Since his lots are so small, any fluctuation in the price of the commodity during the day would only remotely affect him and he prefers to get his selling activity over with quickly so that he can get on to his other market activities--buying and social intercourse. It would be far from the market style of the Berber to spend hours prowling the suq in search of an optimum moment to sell. Only in those commodities which the producer sells directly to the consumer (fellah to fellah) is there much time spent in marketing goods. Only in the absence of the large-scale merchant must the tribesman await the disposition of his goods.

It is only on rare occasions that the large-scale merchant attempts to sell what he has bought in the same market. The only instances that I know of were in the case of selling to wholesalers or restaurant owners from the city of Alhucemas who came to the rural suqs to buy for their immediate need, taking advantage of special friendships and buying in lots so large that the price advantage for the large-scale merchants of transporting to another area was offset by the quantity of the purchase. This, however, was rare. Most merchants of this magnitude attempted to derive their profits through their transporting facility.

443 442 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

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443 445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

443 444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 571 [128] These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand,
[434] dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 434 [438] [435] is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competition. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) cannot be increased in value through combination and transportation, while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-443 182 scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 438 Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [437] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local *suq* because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the merchants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market. Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best price based on multiple competition, the larger the market, the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the *fellah* is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local *suq*, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 438 435 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day. On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to await a more propitious occasion.

443 182 571 I think that the major element which emerges from this schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers, but the fellah have a different orientation than the other buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orientation is a basic difference in the form of economic activity. The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The primary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are provided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

105 43 182 [152] is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption, etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the complete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 [181]

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105 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not
443 domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the
182 market, through market transactions, and no exchange or com-
114 mercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for
443 the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another
441 category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indig-
182 enous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by defini-
434 tion, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy.
438 He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

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[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

105 443 441 182 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly isolated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved in the ideology of industrial society.

105 182 Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be circumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation, prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[26] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[27] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[28] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[26] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[27] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants*..., II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[28] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of doum.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[4]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[5]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[4] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[5] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

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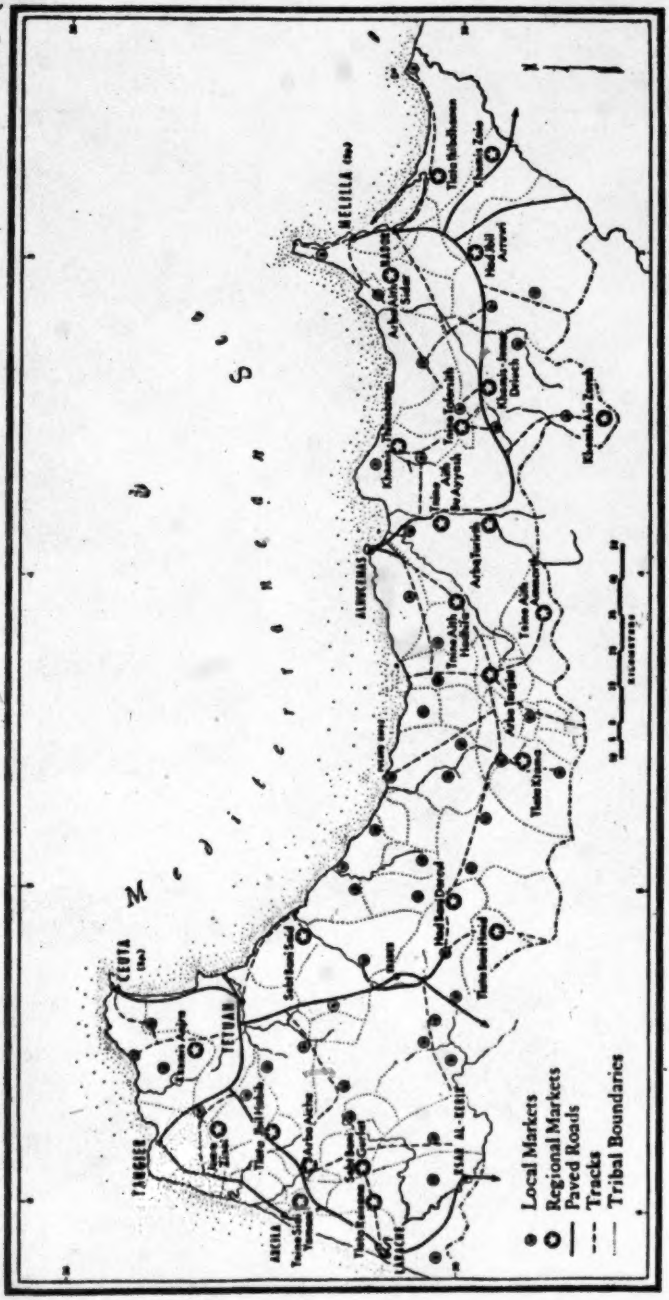

Fig. 24. Northern Morocco: tribal markets.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
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surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[*] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[*] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[*] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[*] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

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/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

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In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

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For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

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1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

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/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

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V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

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Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

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2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida